

A N
E S S A Y
U P O N

Universal Monarchy.

Written in the Year 1701. soon after LEWIS
the Fourteenth had settled his Grandson
PHILIP DE BOURBON upon
the Throne of *Spain*.

By CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL. D.

To which is prefixed,

An Abstract of his Essay upon the Ballance of
Power, published at the same Time.

*Id agendum, ne omnium rerum Jus & Potestas ad unum
Populum perveniat.*

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JAMES, JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON, at the Crown
in Ludgate Street. MDCCXXXIV.

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A N
E S S A Y

U P O N

The Ballance of Power.

THere is no surer Mark that a Government is near its utter Destruction, than when the People are observed to be careless and unconcerned at a time when they are pressed and encompassed with dangers of the highest nature. This State Lethargy is such an Apoplectic Symptom, as is commonly the Forerunner of Death to the Body Politic.

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Many of the first Rank, for Birth, Parts, Title, and Fortune, instead of bending their thoughts how to serve their Country, are either meanly contriving how a Change may be made, whereby they may better themselves; or, which is as bad, they imagine all will be well, if a few of their Friends are at the Helm; as if any good to the Public could be expected from a little shifting of Hands, at a Season when nothing can prevent our Ruin, but an entire change in the Measures by which our Ministers have lately governed.

No small proportion of our Gentry have neglected and lost their Country-Interest, by hawking after Preferments at Court. If any such get into Parliament, they never believe it goes ill with the Kingdom, if it goes but well with them. Their Estates in Land are not so much the object of their Care, as by what Arts they may keep their Employments. This leads them to be indifferent in what relates to the common Welfare. If their Purse feel heavy, they take little thought of what becomes of the Balance of *Europe*, nor to which side the Scale inclines. If we represent to them the Growth and Power of *France*, and the Dangers that threaten *England*, they are not at the least alarmed, as knowing they have got where-withal to recommend them to another Master.

We

The Ballance of Power. 3

We have known the Times, when the News of such a League, as has been lately entered into, would have created a general Consternation in the City. Thirty Years ago the Shops would have been shut up, if such a dangerous Union had been then made between the Strengths of *France* and *Spain*, as is now with just reason to be apprehended from the Duke of *Anjou's* Succession to the *Spanish* Crown. All the Town would have had nothing before them, but a Prospect of Universal Monarchy. Our Fathers in such a case would have given the Liberties of *Europe* for lost, and our Merchants would have believed the largest and most profitable part of the Trade of *England* but precarious for the future; * whereas now we remain under the same thoughtless Security as *Sallust* tells us *Rome* was in, when *Catiline's* Conspiracy was hatched and ready to break out.

I will venture to say from the time of the *Norman* Invasion, we never had a more dismal View before us; we are rent asunder by Factions, and are threatned with Attempts from abroad; *and at best there is but a suspected Peace between us and our Powerful Neighbours.*

But taking it for granted their other Af-

* Since the Ports of *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, and the rest of the *Spanish West-Indies*, are all in the Hands of the House of *Bourbon*.

fairs will not for some time permit them to look this Way, yet their present Greatness will always give *England* anxious Thoughts; we shall be in care, first for our Allies and Confederates, and then for our selves; we shall suspect, and not without Reason, that every Step which increases the Strength of *France*, leads towards our Ruin. In all Ages any immoderate growth of Power abroad, hath made us unquiet, and every Preparation the *French* make will give us fresh Alarms.

For many Years we have pretended to hold the Ballance of *Europe*, and the Body of the People will neither think it consistent with our Honour, nor our Safety, to quit that Post.

This Kingdom from the time we quite lost our Possessions in *France*, did little concern itself with foreign Affairs, till the Reign of *Henry* the 7th. But this Prince began to look about him, and saw that all Accessions to the *French* Power were dangerous to his Estate. This made him enter into a strict Alliance with *Maximilian* the *German*, and with King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*; and this induced him and his Parliament to engage in a War with *Charles* the 8th, to hinder *Britanny* from being united to the Crown of *France*. But *Henry's* Politics were too finely spun, he thought Time would have brought that about, which was only to be compassed

compassed by force of Arms: He likewise made a wrong judgment of his Enemy's Strength; he thought the Dukes of *Britanny* and *Orleans* abler to resist than upon Proof they were found to be. Besides his own natural slowness and caution, and his over frugal Temper, were Impediments to his Design; he came too late for the Succour of his Allies, a Battle was lost, the old Duke died, and left a Daughter; and so by Marriage this important Province was added to the *French* Dominions, in the Reign too of a Prince famous for his Wisdom; of which *Accession England will in all future Ages feel the bad Effects.*

His Son, *Henry* the 8th, spent most of that immense Treasure, which his Father had hoarded up, in making Wars, Leagues, and Alliances, in order to keep the Ballance of Power even between the two great Empires of *Europe*; during the Reigns of *Ferdinand* and *Charles* the 5th, and of *Lewis* the 12th, and *Francis* the 1st Kings of *France.*

His Daughter, Queen *Elizabeth*, took the same Measures. The *Spaniards* must have over-run *France* during the Civil Wars, which lasted from the Death of *Henry* the 2d, to the Reign of *Henry* the 4th, but for the seasonable Assistance, which from time to time she yielded to those of the Reformed Religion; and the Succours she was all along sending

sending to the *United Provinces* ; which were two invincible Bars she put to the Progress *Spain* was then making towards Universal Monarchy. By lifting up *France*, she formed a Strength that was able to hold the *Spaniards* in Play ; and by protecting the *Netherlands*, she fixed in their very flesh a bearded Arrow, which made a Wound that was hardly to be cured. By holding thus the Ballance, she made *England* safe and happy during her Time.

But the next Prince, *James* the 1st, did not tread in her Steps ; while he governed, National Interest was no where pursued, secret Negotiations were carried on with the Pope ; the Protestants were not only oppressed in *Germany*, but reduced to the last Extremity in *France*, and besieged in *Montauban* by *Lewis* the 13th, and in *Rochel* by Count *Soissons* and the Duke of *Guise* ; and all that was done towards their Relief from hence, was by a Mediation carried on without any Vigour. And (which gave the People dreadful Apprehensions) *Spain* in those Days was still formidable, and an Overballance for all the rest of *Europe* ; whose Designs, instead of being opposed, were promoted by *England* ; and the King meanly courted an Alliance with his most dreadful Enemy. But in the mean while the fear of Universal Monarchy awakened the whole Kingdom, and brought on that Parliament which

which was assembled in 1621; where very plain Remonstrances were presented to the Throne, setting forth the Dangers that threatened the Nation: But *Spanish* Gold had charmed our Court, and that Parliament was dismissed in Anger, and several of the principal Members were imprisoned, who could not sit silently, and see their Country lost. Thus this old Prince chose rather to follow the Dictates of his own Will, and the pernicious Advice of his Favourites and Ministers, than the faithful and disinterested Counsel of his Parliament; who addressed to him to arm, and enter into such Leagues, as might oppose the Growth of the *Spanish* Monarchy. But he entertained secret Hopes, that so potent an Alliance as that with *Spain* appeared to be, would make him more powerful over his own People; and the Whispers of *Gundamore* the *Spanish* Ambassador weighed more with him, than the Representations of his Lords and Commons. But at last this proved fatal to him and his Posterity; for by his rough dealing with the House of Commons, he then sowed the Seeds of that Discontent, which ended in the Ruin of his Son.

The general Clamours, the Voice of the whole People, and their Fears of the Power of *Spain*, produced in that Reign another Parliament, which sat in 1623; and there the *Spanish* Match was broken off, and the King
was

was advised to enter into a War with that Nation. And to shew how dreadful the Appearance of Universal Monarchy has always been to *Englishmen*, this Breach with the then formidable Power of *Spain*, was no sooner declared, *but there were Bonfires, Ringing of Bells, and all other Marks of Public Joy.*

From the 5th of King *Charles* the 1st, which began the Year 1629, the Ministers of *England* had set up their Rest to live without a Parliament, and consequently they neither had the Inclination, nor the means of looking abroad, to see that neither *France* nor *Spain* might get ground the one upon the other. And from the Year 1640, we were in a State of Civil War till *Worcester* Fight, which was in 1651. During this intermediate Time, lasting about 22 Years, the Face of Affairs in *Europe* was quite altered, the *Spanish* Monarchy heretofore so dreadful to us, was declined in Strength, Wealth, Fleets, Armies and Discipline; and by the Succession of two able Ministers, *Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, the Greatness of *France* was become formidable.

From the time *Oliver Cromwell* pretended to govern his Affairs in a Monarchical Way, by himself, and without the concurrent Advice of the People's Representatives, he performed no one Act that tended to the general Good of *England*.

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By the Rules of Policy ever observed in this Kingdom, he should have bent his Endeavours to keep the Ballance even between those two Nations; at least he should not have helped a growing Empire to oppress a sinking State. The Measures he took did certainly not consist with the Public Good of *England*, but they conduced to his Private Interest. He was resolved to maintain his own ill gotten Power at any Rate. He feared to be supplanted by his own Army, or by the Commonwealth Party. In case therefore of any future Storm, he thought it was his personal Interest, to fortify himself with the Ships, Troops, and Money of a Foreign Court.

Spain was too remote to assist him upon any such Emergency, their Abilities were weak, and Councils slow; but the *French* Ministers were Men of Dispatch, the State was rich, at that time not weak in Shipping, most powerful by its Armies, *and ever ready to help England to destroy itself.* And upon these Considerations, he chose to enter into a strict League of Amity with *France.*

His Public Treaty with that Kingdom bears date the 3d of *November 1655.* It contains a firm Peace between the two Nations, and mutual Commerce; but the Terms of it were such, as plainly demonstrate *England* was courted to it, and superior in the Treaty.

But besides, there were secret Articles agreed upon, between *Cromwell* and Cardinal *Mazarin*, of which I shall set down the three most remarkable.

Article II. That the Sum of nine Millions of Livres, lent by Queen *Elizabeth* to *Henry* the 4th, with Interest liquidated to thirteen Millions, should be reimburs'd to the Commonwealth of *England*, as succeeding the said Princess.

Article III. That provided the said Money be paid, the Commonwealth of *England* shall be obliged to furnish, and entertain at its own Charge 12 Ships in the *Mediterranean*, there to join with the Naval Force of *France*, and to receive Orders from the *French* Admiral concerning the Expeditions that are to be made against *Spain*. And 6 other Ships to cruise in the Sea of *Dunkirk*, to hinder the said Town from being victualled.

Article IV. That the Commonwealth of *England* shall be obliged to furnish the King of *France* with 40 Ships of War, to help in the retaking of *Dunkirk* and *Gravelin*. And when these Towns shall be retaken, the said King shall assist the said Commonwealth with his Army, to help in the retaking of *Ostend* and *Newport*.

This is the first Instance I can meet with in our History, of *England's* assisting the strongest Prince against the weaker; and I am the

The Ballance of Power. II

more particular in it, because Men are apt to accuse King *Charles* the 2d of having given the first helping Hand to the immoderate Power of the *French*. But tho' he committed Errors enow against the good of his Country; yet 'tis evident, by what I have shewn, that *Cromwell* laid the first Stone of that mighty Building which *France* has since erected.

If we enquire into the Reasons of this secret Alliance, no good one can be assigned. The *Spaniards* were not then in a Condition to do him any Hurt. They had neither Fleet nor Army powerful enough to establish King *Charles* upon the Throne, his Case was every where at that time thought desperate; nor indeed could any thing have restored him, but the Inclination of the People, of which there hardly appeared then any Symptom, tho' the Male-Administration that was visible in a few Years, made them linger after the old Form of Government. As to the *Hollanders*, tho' perhaps in their Hearts they might wish to see Regal Power settled here; as apprehending the Industry, Frugality, Vigour in Action, and Sagacity in Council, of the Rising Commonwealth of *England*; yet they were so abated in Strength and Courage by the unsuccessful War they had carried on against this Nation from the Year 1652, that they were utterly unable to give the Protector any Disturbance. See-

ing therefore he had nothing to fear from abroad, we may reasonably conclude, that he enter'd into this private League with *France*, to no other end and purpose, but to keep the People under, with the Awe of this great Alliance, thereby to maintain himself in the Tyrannical Power he had assumed, when he threw off the Use of a free Parliament.

The Time-servers and Flatterers of that Age, did very much applaud the Public Treaty he had concluded; saying he had made the King of *France* submit to dishonourable Terms, and had compelled him, against the Laws of Hospitality, to sacrifice and banish Princes, who had taken Sanctuary within his Kingdom.

The false Politicians at that time imagin'd he had gained a mighty Point, and thought he had frightened and over-reached that deep Statesman the Cardinal; but *Mazarin* was too wise not to know what he did, and not to see that no Punctilio of Honour was to come in Competition with so great a Benefit, as the Ruin of the *Spanish* Monarchy would produce to *France*. He suffered *Cromwell* to enjoy the empty Glory, while he reaped the solid Profit; and perhaps it may be reckon'd the Master-stroke of all his Ministry; for like the Lion he crouched, but it was to leap more conveniently upon his Prey. An Army victorious in so many Battles, the Reputation our Fleets had gained,
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and the flourishing Condition of our Trade in those Days, were Circumstances that had set us up very high in the World, and made him willing to sooth *Oliver's* Vanity, and ready to support him in his Ambition. But what did this Treaty produce? It helped to ruin a State that had been declining for some Years, and put the Ballance of Empire on the side of *France*, where it has remained ever since.

Besides, 'tis to be feared this dark and selfish Council had another dangerous Effect: For these Transactions of *Cromwell* gave King *Charles* and King *James II.* a bad Example, and taught them to expect Security in a foreign Bottom, and to rely upon that Court to help them at any time against their own People, and to have other Reserves than in their Affection. And many wise Men have thought they followed this ill Pattern, when they enter'd into that close Correspondence and Conjunction with *France*; which tended so greatly to strengthen and enlarge that Monarchy, and which has since cost *England* so much Blood and Treasure.

When King *Charles* ascended the Throne, *England* so little regarded the Ballance of Empire, That in 1664, a War with the *Dutch* was entered upon by Advice of Parliament. And here we may wonder, how it came to pass that the House of Commons could be induced to advise the King to make a War
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with *Holland*. But they who remember those Times, know it was a Mine sprung from Court to blow up the Protestant Interest; and the good Cavaliers, who were then very strong in the House, gave into the Matter, out of their old Hatred to a Commonwealth. However, the most discerning Men on both Sides saw into the Design, and from whence the Engine was play'd. 'Tis notorious my Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* was ever averse to that unfortunate Contest with our Neighbours of the same Religion, which afterwards produced very bad Effects. And it was so far set a-foot by the Roman Catholic Party, that 'twas called my Lord *Clifford's War*.

At last the Eyes of the Ministry came to be opened; they saw their Differences with *Holland* tended only to weaken the Protestant Interest, and to augment the Power of *France*; therefore in *January 1668*, the King entered into a strict Alliance with the United Provinces, *Charles XI. of Sweden* came into the Treaty, and this was called the Triple League; which was to support the Peace made at *Aix la Chapelle*.

All *Europe* rejoyc'd at it, the *French* excepted; and if it had been strengthened by the Accession of other Princes who desired to join in it; and if it had been as inviolately observed, as it was wisely contrived, the Ballance of Power had not so much inclin'd to the Side of *France*. It was so well received,

received, that for a time the very Name of it in the House of Commons produced a Tax.

Such Leagues as that was will never fail to please the People; but they resent it highly from the Ministers, when they advise the Prince to enter into Alliances of which the ill Consequences are plain, and the good ones doubtful, if not impossible: but more especially, when they form Treaties, that at the first View strike Men pale with Fear and Horror, and afterwards augment their Care for the Public the more they are considered; and which even the most vulgar Capacities can discern to be diametrically opposite to the Nation's Interest, and to the common Rules of Policy. And of this Nature are all the Leagues *England* ever made to assist the strong against the weak. Such Measures soured the People in the time of King *James I.* His Son felt the bad Effects of that Discontent. The like Measures render'd a great Part of King *Charles II.*'s Reign uneasy; and a Belief obtaining that the same Councils would be still followed, did contribute to undo his Brother.

About 1671 the Triple League was broken, the Exchequer was shut up, the Design was laid of seizing the *Smyrna* Fleet; and in *March* 1672, War with *Holland* was again proclaimed, which we carried on in Conjunction with the *French*; but this War was far

far from being undertaken by Advice of Parliament. And in 1673, both Lords and Commons advised the King to a speedy Treaty with the United Provinces in order to a Peace; which Advice was afterwards pursued.

All this while *France* increased in Power, Strength and Reputation. 'Tis true, the Empire, *Spain* and *Holland*, gave what Opposition they could; but to make the Scale weigh, they wanted *England* in the Ballance; but this did not suit with the Inclinations of the Court.

However, about the Year 1677, the Nation began to awaken from that Lethargy in which it had lain so long intranc'd. They, whose Ancestors had spilt so much Blood, and expended so much Treasure to keep the neighbouring Dominions within due and moderate Limits. They, whose Fathers had expressed such dreadful Apprehensions of the excessive Growth of the *Spanish* Monarchy, sat still, while the *French* were erecting a much more formidable Empire: for after the Restoration, the Body of the People were intent upon improving their Land, or accumulating Wealth by Trade. The Gentry were softened into Pleasures by the Example of a young Prince. The Court was drowned with Luxuries, and plunged into Corruption of all Kinds. The Martial Temper that had so glittered here during the Civil War was extinct in us, and
gone

gone to other Countries: The Arms of *France* in the mean time were every where victorious, whose Power and Fortune the inferior States stooped to and courted. There was indeed a Rival, but of more Fame than real Strength; for *Spain* was become weak, and the House of *Austria* was supported by nothing but the *German* Valour. Thus a great part of the World was almost ready to undergo the Yoke; we who alone could give any strong Opposition, did at best but faintly countenance our true Friends, and at last openly assist our certain Enemies. And while these Things were in Transaction, but few saw, and none endeavoured to prevent our impending Miseries.

But at last some good Patriots began to rouse themselves, and exert their Virtue. 'Tis true, in those Days the Fountain-Head was tainted, and the Guardianship of Liberty was in polluted Hands. Pensions, Bribes, Offices, Hope of getting, and Fear to offend, had in a manner extinguished that public Spirit, and those Principles of Honour, upon which our Predecessors acted. However, in seventeen Years, tho' they went a great Way towards it, they had not been able to procure a Party, who by the Strength of their Numbers could subvert this Constitution.

For at that time there was a set of Men, whom Profit could not allure, nor Power intimidate. 'Twas they, whose bold Speeches

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and Representations drew him from his bad Measures of pursuing the War with *Holland*. 'Twas they, who first perceived his fatal Counsels to be equally dangerous to Religion and our Liberties. 'Twas they, who beheld with Horror *English* Fleets, and *English* Troops helping a Prince who so visibly aspired to the Dominion of all *Europe*. 'Twas they, who had the Courage to attack in Parliament Men of great Power and Figure, whom they thought Authors of those pernicious Advices. 'Twas they, who endeavoured to break that Correspondence our Court held then with *France*, so dishonourable to the King, and so opposite to the Public Good. 'Twas they, who enquired into the Breach of advantageous Leagues, and who thought the Ministers accountable for entering into Alliances prejudicial to the Realm. 'Twas they, who desired to look into private Treaties, and secret Articles; which now and then may serve a Prince's present Turn, and suit with his own Personal Interest, tho' these close Transactions have generally tended to enslave the People; of which innumerable Instances might be given. Lastly, 'Twas they, who by their repeated Addresses asserted the Right of Parliaments to be consulted in Affairs, upon which depended the Welfare or Ruin of the Kingdom; and these Men will be revered in all future Ages.

On the 10th of *March* 1677, the Commons being under Apprehensions at the immoderate Growth and Power of *France*, did think themselves obliged to address to the King, that he would enter into such Alliances as might be for the Security of *England*; to which Address the Lords concurred. And on the 29th of the same Month, the Commons again addressed to him, intimating; that if in pursuance of the former Address, the King should find himself necessitated to enter into a War, the House would fully aid his Majesty from time to time, and assist him in that War.

On the 26th of *May* 1677, the Commons again repeated the Fears the Nation lay under, by reason of the *French* Power and Greatness, and pressed the King to enter into a League offensive and defensive with the United Provinces.

But the secret Friends of *France* apprehending, That if *England* went heartily into the War, it might turn the Scale; to ward the Blow, thought it best to throw a Bone of Discord between the King and his Parliament, persuading him; that the Commons had invaded his Prerogative, by meddling in matters of War and Peace; insomuch that they prevailed upon him to say in a Speech to both Houses, the 28th of *May* 1677; That in no Age, when the Sword had not been drawn, the Prerogative of making War and

Peace had been so dangerously invaded; and in a Heat the Parliament was adjourned.

When the Parliament re-assembled, the Commons again urged their Fears of *France*, and in a more pressing manner. And in their Address of *January* 31, 1677, desired the King not to admit of any Treaty of Peace, whereby the *French* King should be left in the Possession of any larger Dominions and Territories, or of any greater Power than what he retained by the *Pyrenean* Treaty; less than which, as they conceived, could not secure this Kingdom and the rest of *Europe*, from the Growth and Power of the said King; but that he alone might be able to disturb the Peace thereof, whensoever he was minded to attempt it.

But to evade this Address, the Prerogative was again insisted upon in a Message of the 4th of *February* 1677. However, on the 18th of *February*, the House voted the King a Million to enable him to enter into an actual War. And on the 15th of *March*, they addressed to him immediately to declare, proclaim, and enter into an actual War with *France*.

The Court had made an Alliance with *Holland*, but it was not such a one as the Commons thought safe and effectual: Therefore on the 4th of *May* 1678, they came to a Resolution, that the League Offensive and Defensive with *Holland*, with the Articles thereto relating, were not pursuant to the Address

of the House; nor consistent with the Good and Safety of the Kingdom; and agreed upon an Address, That the King would enter into the Alliances and Confederations then a-foot, between the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the States General, for carrying on a War against the *French* King. To this Address, Answer was given upon the 6th of *May*: But the Evasion then thought fit to be made use of, was; That Both Houses had not concurred in the Advice.

Upon the 10th of the same Month, the Commons agreed upon an Address which pressed an Answer to their last. And upon another Address, wherein they desired his Majesty to remove those Counsellors, who advised the Answers to their Addresses of the 26th of *May*, and 31st of *January*, or either of them.

This Parliament was prorogu'd the 15th of *July* 1678. Afterwards the Peace of *Nimeguen* was concluded. But from that Prorogation, till his present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, we can hardly say *England* enjoy'd one good or quiet Moment. Popery increas'd, the Power of *France* grew yet more formidable, and the Court every Day entered into Measures more and more destructive to the Kingdom.

Thus I have briefly shewn, That from the Time *Henry* the VIIth attempted to relieve the Duke of *Britany*, which was *Anno* 1488, to the

the Year 1678, that is for One Hundred and ninety Years, *England* has all along endeavoured to hold the Ballance of *Europe*. And that tho' some of our Princes, during this Period of Time, by the Corruption of their Courts, have been induced to favour the Monarchy that seemed the most aspiring; yet that Parliaments have always bent their utmost Care to provide, That neither *France* nor *Spain* might gain any Ground the one upon the other.

We may go yet farther, and say the late Revolution, and the War that happened upon it, were both carried on upon the same foot of opposing the Growth of the *French* Monarchy; for we suspected a Catholic Prince would favour that Country, by whose Power only the Catholic Religion could be introduced.

When the Peace of *Ryswick* was concluded, we had all the Prospect imaginable of making a greater Figure in the World, than we had done in many Ages. All *Europe* was possessed with a high Opinion of the King's Valour and Conduct. He was acknowledged to be the Head of the Protestant Interest, which brought many important Dependences upon him. He commanded the two greatest trading Nations, which gave him a naval Strength, that no other People were able to face. Our Troops had given such Proofs of their Courage, as did renew our ancient Glory and Renown

noun in foreign Parts. And by maintaining a War so long and so expensive, we shewed Marks of an unwearied Constancy, and that we had a Spring of Wealth not easily to be exhausted.

They who saw us with such Appearances of a robust and florid Health, could not conceive less Hopes of *England*, than that we should be able for a Time to hold the Ballance, and that the *French* would not be easily induced to enter upon Measures, that would clash with the Interests of so fierce a People, and which in past Times had shewn themselves so active in preserving the Liberties of the rest of Human-kind, whereupon their own Freedom depended.

It was hardly imaginable, when they were so sore with the Wounds of the late War, and so exhausted of Wealth, and diminished in People; that they should think of making any Steps, which in their Consequences were certain to arm us and other Nations; and 'twas little expected that they should think it adviseable or safe to seize *Flanders*, or to insult *Holland*.

These are bolder Councils than they thought fit heretofore to venture upon, when we had an unactive Prince upon the Throne. What then can have pushed them upon this sort of Conduct, when we are ruled by a King so famous for his military Virtues? Must they not have some Reserves that are not vulgarly known?

known? Or must they not believe us involved in Difficulties through which they think it impossible to wade?

All good *Englishmen* ought seriously to consider this Reflection which *Machiavel* makes:
 “ That when a Prince arrives at that height
 “ of Reputation, that no neighbour Prince
 “ or People dares venture to invade him, he
 “ may do what he pleases. 'Tis in his Election
 “ with whom he will make War, and with
 “ whom he will be at Peace; since his Neigh-
 “ bours being afraid of his Power, are all glad
 “ to be his Friends, and those Potentates who
 “ are farthest off, and have no Commerce
 “ with him, look on as unconcerned, as if
 “ the Consequence could have no relation to
 “ them; and in this Error they many times
 “ continue till the Calamities are brought
 “ home to their own Doors; and then 'tis
 “ too late; for they have nothing but their
 “ own private Force to oppose, which is too
 “ weak when the Enemy is grown so strong.”
*In all probability the French are now arrived
 to this formidable Pitch of Greatness.*

Popular Assemblies are generally most captivated with those Councils that have the Appearance of being generous and martial, such Assemblies especially as represent a warlike People; and I do not remember above one Instance in our Records or History, where the Parliament declined engaging in a War with *France*. It was in the time of *Henry III*, who
 had

had the Misfortune to have a constant Succession of ill Ministers during his whole Reign. And indeed when bad ones have been any time in Possession, they so perplex Affairs, that they render it almost impracticable for a better Set to come in, and help the Commonwealth. And it was out of Hatred to this sort of Men, that the Barons and great Men of that time refused to join in the Expedition *Henry* made, upon which great Calamities happened to him, and to the Army he carried over.

If a War be necessary for our own, or the Preservation of our Allies, is there a Man of Honesty or Honour that will not give his Suffrage to enter into it forthwith? We may be divided in other Matters, but sure we shall unite in this Point, not to submit to a foreign Yoke. I may go farther and say, that he does not deserve the Name of an *Englishman*, who is not desirous to obviate remote Fears; and who is not willing to spill his last drop of Blood, rather than the *French* should be left in a condition to insult and subdue one Nation after another, till at last they have formed a Power, which nothing shall be able to resist. Such must not only have lost all their Honesty, but all their Understanding, who do not think we are, in this Juncture, to do our utmost to hinder the Emperor from being oppressed; or any other Prince, who is able to bear a part in a Strength to be confederated against those who would swallow all. If this cannot be nego-

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tiated by Treaties, and if such a Peace as this side of the World may securely rely upon, is not in a short time fairly consented to; who will not give his Voice for endeavouring to obtain it virtuously, and as our Ancestors were wont to do, by force of Arms: And with such fatal Resolution, and with a Courage so determined, as may make them perhaps doubtful of their own Safety, who now invade their Neighbours?

The Attempts of a free People firmly bent so to continue, are of a higher and of a nobler Nature, than the military Exploits of a dispirited Country reduced to Servitude. And we shall never be afraid to meet them at Sea or in the Field, tho' with unequal Forces. The ancient Enmity to *France*, which was born with us, and which will subsist as long as *Englishmen* are touched with any Care for their Religion or Liberties, is not buried in Oblivion.

Is there a Man that does not think it honourable for *England* to hold the Ballance? Are we not all afraid that *France* unoppos'd may attain to universal Empire? Do we not all think our selves safe, led by the King, and fighting under his auspicious Banners? Will not Nations crowd in to confederate with a Prince, whom, above all the Kings of the Earth, it most imports to preserve the Liberties of *Europe*? Does it not appear that our Fleet is not only in a Condition to defend us,
but

but strong enough to seek out any who shall declare themselves our Enemies, and to carry to their very Coasts the Terror of an invasive War? We know the Valour of our own Troops, Money will not be wanting, and we know how to open a new Vein of Treasure to maintain Land and Sea Forces at any time, when the Defence of *England* shall come in question. Nor can any *Englishmen* be ever afraid of engaging with a People, whom, for so many Ages, they have been used to conquer.

And now to conclude this Discourse: Nothing can more enable us still to maintain our Post of holding the Ballance of *Europe*, nor contribute so much to our Preservation, as for all good *Englishmen* to lay aside the Name of Parties, and to join in due Obedience to the King, and firm Zeal for his real Service. He will perfect that Deliverance which he began so nobly. In him we must place our Hopes, whose present Happiness, Glory, and future Fame are so highly concerned, that an early Stop be put to Universal Monarchy; which shall be the Subject of my next Essay.

A N
E S S A Y

U P O N

Universal Monarchy.

TH O' the Wisdom of Man, his Foresight, his Policies, and his bodily Strength, be confined to narrow Limits, yet his Ambition extends very far, if it is not unbounded : his good Inclinations are likewise few and short ; but his irregular and bad Appetites know no End : And albeit he is to act so brief a part here, he conceives high Thoughts, he heaps Riches upon Riches, he desires to add Dominion to Dominion, and lays remote Designs, as if his corporal Substance were as immortal as his Soul.

Not only private Men covet to join Manor to Manor, with an endless view of increasing ; but Commonwealths also, where one would imagine the collective Wisdom should think and devise for the best, endeavour to conquer Province after Province, and act as if they were always to continue, hoping by good Government to render themselves perpetual ; but
while

while Commonwealths thus extend their Limits, they are working their own Bane, for all big Empires determine in a single Person. Princes, whether they will place their Happiness in the Exercise of all sort of Virtues, or in the Enjoyment of all kind of Pleasures, have the Means and Opportunity, either way, of giving themselves full Content. One Kingdom will amply do it, yet with restless Care they interrupt their Sleeps, hurt their Healths, suffer the Incommodities of Heat and Cold, run the Hazard of their Lives, all to enlarge their Territories, and are never satisfied till they can grasp the whole.

This insatiable Appetite has so prevailed, that even the best Philosophers, and most famous Law-givers, except *Lycurgus*, have formed their Models of Government rather for Increase, than Preservation; not that they could think such a Constitution good or right, but they were compelled to adapt their Schemes to the depraved Manners, and wild Passions of Human kind.

Private Persons would not be unhappy, tho' with less Possessions of Lands or Money, and civil Life would not be so obnoxious to Law, Contentions, Fraud, Perjury, and Oppression, if Men would set some Bounds to their Desire of having. Commonwealths, well founded, would be eternal, if they could contain themselves within a reasonable Extent of Territory, and Princes would make their own and

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the Condition of their People much more happy, if, instead of leading them out to foreign Conquests, they would endeavour to rule them at home in Peace, with wholesome Laws, Piety, and Justice.

But how have these Errors, publick and private, taken their Rise? In all appearance it is from hence, that ever since the Corruption of Nature, which is very ancient, we have given wrong Names to Things, and have allotted to Vice the Stamps and Attributes of Virtue. We term Avarice, Prudence and Oeconomy; we think none wise, but who abound in Wealth; and none honest, but whom Fortune favours: We call the false Arts of Statesmen, and the evil Faith, Perjury, and Dissimulation of Princes, Wisdom and deep Policy: Temerity we stile high Courage, Ambition we call a noble Thirst after Glory, and they who vex, rob and disturb the World, we dignify them with the Names of Conquerors and Heroes.

And because nothing was set by, esteemed, and revered, but Wealth and Power, the forward part of Mankind strove to obtain as much of both as possibly they could; and these, as they grew in Strength, formed themselves into particular Principalities and Commonwealths.

And these Principalities and Commonwealths, finding they increased in Fame, and Value with the World, as they increased in
Wealth

Wealth and Power, and that Success covered any Crime, and gave it a new Name and another sort of Lustre, proceeded forward still to fresh Conquests, till they had subdued all round about them; and from thence came what we call Universal Monarchy or Empire.

The ambitious part of Mankind have hunted after this Game for near four thousand Years, with short Intermiſſions and breathing whiles, and commonly without any regard whether or no in the pursuit they followed the Rules of Honesty, common Justice or Virtue.

Perhaps the same Chace will be again renewed; and if so, these Papers may prove no unseasonable Warning: for in all appearance the *Nimrods* and mighty Hunters before the Lord had never so fair a View before them.

Properly speaking there has never yet been an universal Empire, and of the Nations that have most lorded it over the rest of the World none has been able to embrace the whole; on the contrary, more has been out of their Rule than within it: However, such have been called Universal Monarchs, or Lords of the whole Earth, who having subdued whatever they thought worth the taking in, did at last sit down in quiet, not meeting with any other Opposition: Of which kind were the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian*, the *Persian*, *Macedonian*, and *Roman* Empires.

And such is the restless Ambition of Mankind, that from the earliest Knowledge we have

have of human Affairs, there hardly appears to have been any long course of Time, in which some People or other did not either actually obtain, or at least attempt to procure to themselves sovereign Sway over the whole.

First one great Empire was erected, with infinite Devastations of the Earth, and Slaughter of its Inhabitants; That stood for a while to oppress the World: At last it was subverted, but with fresh Calamities to the Race of Men. Out of its Ruins a second lifted up its Head, which was overthrown by *Alexander*, who set up a third; but his, reared in haste, fell suddenly: Then arose a fourth, in Strength and in the Beauty of its Fabrick exceeding all the rest, but that too was at last dismembred and overthrown.

Out of the Ruins of this mighty Fabrick several Kingdoms and States were erected; but on this side of the World none arrived to any considerable Strength and Power, till *Charlemagne* had founded a Dominion that extended very far: He was a martial as well as a wise Prince, and reigning prosperously for forty seven Years, to his own Kingdom of *France* (in which that part of *Germany* was comprehended, which lies between *Saxony*, the *Danube* and the *Rhine*) he added *Gascony*, *Navarre* and *Catalonia*: He was crowned King of *Lombardy*, and had all *Italy* as far as the low *Calabria*. He had conquered *Suabia*, *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, all *Saxony*, *Hungary*, *Transylvania*

nia, Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, except some maritim Towns which by Compact were left to the *Greek* Emperor. The *French* Historians make him likewise very strong in *Spain*, and say that with *Navar* and *Aragon*, he held all from the *Pyrenean* Mountains to the River *Eber*. And they who contemplate his whole Territory, must own he had very near all that part of the *Roman* Dominions, which, after the Division made by *Constantine*, was called the Western Empire.

If the *Carlovingian* Race, as well as that of *Meroveus*, had not very much degenerated towards the latter end; if *Charlemagne* had not cantoned his numerous illegitimate Issue in little Principalities, but, which was of more Consequence, if he had not divided his Acquisitions between his Children; if the same Custom of dismembring their Dominions had not been generally followed by his Descendants, in all probability the Empire he had founded might have been very powerful, and of long duration: For with stretching himself out a little farther into *Spain*, he would have had a Situation very proper for Universal Monarchy. To which we must add, that he was in Possession of *Germany* and *France*, Countries, above all others in *Europe*, the most productive of Men.

The next great Body of Government is that which the *Turks* have erected in the East; of which by and by I shall make some little mention.

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The next People who had the Appearance of obtaining Universal Monarchy were the *Spaniards*.

The Foundation of all that Power and Greatness to which this Nation arrived was laid by *Ferdinand*. By his Marriage with *Isabella* he united the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and by taking the Realm of *Granada* from the *Moors*, he got rid of such a domestick Enemy, as would always have hindred *Spain* from foreign Enterprizes. The *Indies* were first discovered and invaded at his Expence, and by his Encouragement. He formed that Discipline, which afterwards prevailed so much; he bred up those Armies, that in the next Reign performed so many gallant Actions; and indeed it may be justly said, he was to his Grandson *Charles V.* what *Philip* of *Macedon* had been to his Son *Alexander*.

Fortune, which had designed to advance the House of *Austria*, had so contrived it, that these Circumstances should meet in one Man; first to be eldest of the *Austrian* Family, which might give him a Pretension to the Empire; and, secondly, to have the Succession of the House of *Burgundy*, and of the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon*, to center in his Person.

The *Arragonians* lying on the *Mediterranean*, had the Opportunity of joining to their Dominions the Islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, the Realms of *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, and that of *Naples*. The *Castilians* lying on both
sides

sides of the *Streights*, were situated conveniently for taking in the opposite Towns on the Coast of *Africk*, for conquering the *Canaries*, and for discovering and possessing the *West Indies*. The paternal and maternal Ancestors of *Charles* had subdued all these Countries, and they were descended peaceably to him; and being the Master of such large Estates, did rather promote, than hinder his Election to the Imperial Dignity; for no other Prince was at that time of Power sufficient to be set up, in opposition to the Growth of *France*; otherwise the Choice perhaps had fallen upon his Brother *Ferdinand*, as their Grandfather *Maximilian* had once designed.

Charles V. being at once Emperor and King of *Spain*, having under his Command the Numbers of *Germany*, and its Strength of Horse, the *Spanish* Foot, so famous for Discipline, the Ports of *Italy*, and its adjacent Islands, his Dominions of the *Low Countries*, which made him considerable on this Side the Mountains, and to give Motion to this mighty Engine, being besides Master of the Wealth of *Peru* and *Mexico*, he seems to have had a very fair Prospect of attaining to what we call Universal Empire.

But the Reasons are obvious enough how the *Spaniards* came to miss that of which they had such fair Hopes, and whereunto they so visibly aspired.

Nothing that is of a hasty Growth can be of a long Continuance, which we see made good in all the Operations either of Art or Nature. That Lordship *Alexander* had obtained over the World, was the quick Result of Victories suddenly gotten, therefore his Power, which had not yet taken any Root, was short liv'd, and in a manner ended with him. But the *Affyrian* and *Roman* Empires, which continued so many Centuries, were the slow Product of Time: the Foundations of them were deeply laid by great Men and with much Wisdom. It cost many Consultations, Battels, Sieges, much Labour, and many a valiant Life, to rear up those Superstructures, and they were many Ages in erecting; but when finished, they were strong and solid Fabricks, which were not to be shaken but in a great Tract of Time, and by very much ill Conduct. These Governments, firmly established at first, and well rooted, were able to resist the Vices of their People, the Corruption of their Ministers, the Lusts, Madness and Profusion, or Weakness and Effeminacy, in a long Succession of their Princes.

But this was not at all the Case of *Spain*, the Greatness of the House of *Austria* was sudden and accidental, the Matches with *Mary* of *Burgundy*, and with *Johanna*, Heiress of *Castile* and *Arragon*, accumulated so many Provinces and Kingdoms under one Dominion.

Nor had this Power time to spread its Roots
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and fix; for the *German* Princes, jealous of their Liberties, would not suffer the Imperial Dignity and the Sceptre of *Spain* to continue in one Person, tho' *Charles V.* did his utmost to have it so; for notwithstanding that about the Year 1531, he had thought it necessary, for the Support of his House, to get his Brother *Ferdinand* chosen King of the *Romans*; yet afterwards he endeavoured to vacate that Election, and so to transmit his whole Dominions entirely to his Son; in order to which in the Year 1548. * he made divers Motions, and had several Transactions with his Brother *Ferdinand*, and with his Nephew *Maximilian*. He knew the sovereign Sway, which in his ambitious Thoughts he had projected for himself and his Posterity, was not to be compassed, unless two such powerful Estates were joined together.

Other Circumstances contributed to hinder this Prince from carrying on the Greatness of *Spain*, so far as might have been expected from his Courage, Conduct, Vigilance and Sagacity. In *France* he had to deal with *Francis I.* one of the most gallant and active Kings the World has seen for many Ages: He was new in the Conquests his Grandfather *Ferdinand* had made in *Italy*; in his *Belgick* Provinces, he had to do with Men impatient to the last degree of any Invasion upon their civil Rights. who were ever in Commotion, who cost him

* Thyanus Tom. 1. Lib. 5. p. 137.

ten Voyages to appease their Factions and Tumults, and who lay so remote from the main Body of his Strength, as not to be brought entirely under. Besides, he had not that full Affection of his People, which is requisite for Princes that would succeed in great Attempts. The *Germans* feared he might enslave them by the Wealth and Power of *Spain*, the *Spaniards*, and not without Reason, thought him partial to his *Flemings* and his *Germans*: In short, but few of his Subjects looked upon him as (what the Vulgar call) their natural and native Prince.

But tho' *Charles* was necessitated to divide the Power of the House of *Austria* into two Branches, yet there seems to have been left to *Philip* his Son, a Foundation, upon which he might have erected a very great Superstructure.

The Troops his Father had bred, his Kingdom of *Spain*, his Possessions in *Italy* and the *Low Countries*, and the Riches of the *Indies*, were such a Strength, as had it been rightly managed, might have extended his Scepter, as far as that of any King had ever reached.

Besides, he had not such Opponents to wrestle with as his Father found in *Francis I. Solymán* the Magnificent, and our *Henry VIII*, for after *Philip's* Accession to the Crown, *France* fell under a Minority, and immediately was engaged in a Civil War, that lasted for near forty Years, *Germany* was divided
about

about Religious Matters, *Selimus* an unactive Prince sat in the *Ottoman* Throne, and the Crowns of *England* and *Scotland* were worn by Women.

In appearance all these favourable Conjunctions should have tended to place him on a very eminent Height, and yet we see he proceeded no farther than to conquer *Portugal*.

We must therefore conclude that *Spain* had some inward Impediments that checked her in her Progress; for neither did her Prince want Ambition, nor were her People deficient in Courage for the highest Undertaking, but the Causes may be plainly assigned of her rising no higher under *Philip*, and of her declining ever since.

One fundamental Error has run through the whole Administration of that Kingdom's Affairs ever since it has made any Figure in the World, which is, that no Regard has been had how much they dispeopled their Country. It had not abounded in Men for many Ages, their Wars with the *Romans* had sufficiently thinn'd it. The *Goths* afterwards made great Depopulations: No sooner had the *Goths* increased to some degree, but they were invaded by the *Moors*, who made a mighty Slaughter of the Natives. When such of the old *Spaniards* as had retired themselves into the *Asturias*, the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and old *Castile*, began to lift up their Heads, they could gain no Foot of Ground upon the Plains, but with the Loss

of Men. We may indeed reckon they were in a continued State of War with these *Saracens* for about 775 Years, reckoning from the Reign of *D. Pelayo*, to the taking of *Granada* by *Ferdinand*.

During this time there were frequent Invasions from *Africk*; and when such Numbers came over (though they were bravely resisted and expelled) it must needs have weakened the Natives, especially since we cannot perceive the *Spaniards* were ever inclined to incorporate with the *Moors* of such Provinces as from time to time they reduced to their Obedience; when they had conquered a Country, the Enemies were forced either to return to *Africk*, to abjure *Mahometism* (which few did) or to retreat to such Places as they still held. And thus without any Care to provide Hands for War, Arts, Labour and Manufactures, they proceeded till the Reduction of *Granada*.

Besides what they suffered from abroad, the Country was perpetually dispeopled by domestic Wars between the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, among one another, or with their Neighbours of *Navar* and *Portugal*. And in these Contests sometimes the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* were possessed with such mutual Rage as to call over Troops from *Africk* one against the other.

Whoever considers what has been here laid down, will grant that *Spain* for a long time has not been fully peopled.

What

What Number of Inhabitants it contained while the *Moors* were among them appears by one Instance in *Mariana*, who says that about *Sevil*, in Olive-yards, called *Axarase*, there were a hundred thousand Cottages, and Oil Mills; and quotes for this the History compiled by King *Alonzo* the Wise.

But notwithstanding they were thus exhausted of Men in their long Wars, and that they wanted Inhabitants for those Provinces and Cities from whence they had expelled the *Moors*, yet within two Months after *Granada* was taken, King *Ferdinand* entered upon a very strange Council, which was to banish all the *Jews*. They had been long Inmates of *Spain*, and one would think were not so incompatible with the Religion of the Country as direct *Mahometans*, yet by a severe Edict they were all forced to depart. *Mariana* computes that there went away one hundred and seventy thousand Families, in all eight hundred thousand Persons.

The *Granadin Moors* by Capitulation had the Choice of remaining or going away, but they easily foresaw the Inquisition would make their Stay impracticable, and therefore as many as could, passed over into *Africk*. This Tribunal seems to have had place only in *Arragon* till the Year 1478, at which time it was settled in *Castile*, and when *Granada* was taken it was extended over all the *Spanish* Territories. Without doubt no Country can be well inha-

bited where this sanguinary Court has any Authority. It was set up at the Instigation of the Cardinal *Pedro Gonçales de Mendoza* Archbishop of *Sevil*, it was levelled at the *Moors* and *Jews*, and has tended more to the dispeopling and Destruction of *Spain* than all the Invasions they have had from *Africk*.

To the Severities of this Court, is to be attributed that *Spain* all along has had perpetual Evacuations, and no Recruits. And whatever the Catholick Writers may pretend, undoubtedly the Cruelties inflicted upon this miserable People on the score of Religion occasioned that Rebellion of the *Morisco's*, which happened *Anno 1570*, in *Philip II.*'s time, in the Mountains of *Alpujares*, which lasted two Years, and was suppressed by *D. John* of *Austria*, and the Duke of *Arcos*, but not without great Loss to *Spain*, because while that Action continued, and after it was over, such vast Numbers of them went away, as that even the rich Plains about *Granada* are ever since become a Desert.

For the Reasons here given *Spain* must have wanted its full Complement of Inhabitants at the very time its Greatness seemed most formidable to the rest of *Europe*. 'Tis true, *Charles* and *Philip* were both able to raise great Forces, which looked as if they reigned over populous Kingdoms, but this Strength of theirs had no Root. Soldiers of Fortune will at first from all Parts resort to States that are new and
increasing,

increasing, and to a rising young Prince ; and an Army so composed may be good for a single Expedition, but can never fix a wide and lasting Empire. Countries that will enlarge their Dominions, should have within themselves a perpetual Spring of People, for War is a Devourer that must be always fed.

In all appearance, this want of People was the inward Impediment that checked the *Spaniards* in their Progress towards Universal Monarchy ; and peradventure it may be safely laid down, that in the height of all their Greatness, they had not such an innate Strength as could enable them to succeed in so vast an Undertaking : In all probability they began where they should have ended : Had they waited till in the natural course of time those Countries had been replenished with Men, which were left desolate by the Departure or Extinction of the *Moors* : If for a while they had made no more Attempts than what were just necessary to preserve Discipline, and to inure their People to War : If, as wise Nations have ever done, they had invited over by Privileges and Protection all sort of Comers to inhabit their deserted Provinces : If in the mean time, by encouraging Trade, Tillage and Manufactures, they had kept in *Spain* part of that Gold and Silver which came from the *Indies* : Lastly, if they had staid to be strong within, before they had exerted themselves too much abroad, they had probably establish'd a Dominion and Power,

to which the greatest part of *Europe* must have submitted.

But instead of all this, they were like a Tree that begins to spread its Branches before it has taken any deep Root, whose large Top makes it the more obnoxious to every Blast of Wind; they aimed at sovereign Sway without Hands to hold it; they were indeed Lords of many Kingdoms, but this was a huge Bulk without any Sinews.

Machiavel observes very rightly, *That whosoever would make any City great and apt for Dominion, must with all Industry endeavour to throng it with Inhabitants, otherwise it will be impossible to bring it to any great Perfection.* This was the principal Object of the *Roman* People's Care. But even before the Reign of *Ferdinand*, and much more ever since, the *Spaniards* have taken quite other Measures; and have thought fit both in *Europe* and in the *Indies*, to settle a large Empire by a wide Desolation.

Upon this Rock the Affairs of *Spain* have split. Their suffering so many Persons to enter into religious Orders is a Branch of the same ill Conduct. As to their *American* Plantations, those Outlets would not have been hurtful to them, if they had taken Care by mild Laws and good Encouragement to have peopled from abroad their mother Kingdom. The *Romans* were always sending out Colonies, and planting elsewhere such Slips and Scions,

Scions, without any prejudice to the main Trunk; *England* has done the same, and is much richer, and not the weaker at home for these foreign Settlements.

But as impossible as it seems to have been that his Designs could succeed, 'tis evident he aimed at Universal Monarchy; and yet by what appears from his Actions in the World, there is reason to think he not only wanted Strength, but that he was likewise destitute of Council; and that tho' his Dominions had been much better peopled, he must have miscarried in his Enterprizes.

Machiavel observes, that the *Romans* were never involved in two considerable Wars at one and the same time. What he says is very true, for these People proceeded by such leisurely Steps as were conducted by Wisdom, and left nothing to Chance. When they had subdued all *Italy*, they attacked the Commonwealth of *Carthage*, whose Spirit of Liberty was most like to stand in the way of their intended Greatness. Nor did they think of remote Designs in *Asia*, till by conquering *Plilip*, they had broken the Force of *Greece*: And by observing this Method of singling out one Nation after another, they were the surer of Success, because their Councils at home were not distracted with Variety of Matters, and their Strength abroad was not divided: Nor did they leave any Attempt imperfect, either in Apprehension of the Difficulty, or
diverted

diverted by some fairer Prospect, and this Conduct made them at last Lords of all.

But the *Spaniards*, in the Administration of their Affairs, took quite other Measures. First, as to *Charles* the Vth, 'tis observed of him that he never finished any Enterprize. *Philip* the Ild was so far from avoiding being implicated with too many Actions at once, that at the same time he had upon his Hands the Support of the League (which was a perpetual Drain of Treasure to him, and could not but end in open War, as it did at last) the Rebellion of the *Low Countries*, and the Invasion of *England*; and all this not by Accident, but upon Premeditation. The Design of invading *England* had been laid in 1581, and for seven Years he had been making all sort of Preparations towards it. He entered into League with the Catholick Princes of *France* in 1584, and the Defection in his *Belgick* Provinces had continued from 1568. What Council was able to embrace such a variety of Business? And what Treasure, naval Force, and Armies, were adequate to so many, and such high Designs?

Thus endeavouring to embrace the whole, and all at once, he succeeded in nothing; for the Stream of his Power was diverted into too many Branches, to run any where with such an impetuous Force as might bear down all before it.

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His not succeeding in these Attempts, did not only stop his Progress for the time, but they were Wounds of which *Spain* has ever since bled and languished. The *Netherlands* have been a Canker perpetually eating upon its Vitals. The Sums expended to support the League drew away the best part of its Treasure. But the fatal Blow of all was the Miscarriage of their Armada: 'Twas one of Fortune's bearded arrows, it struck deep into the Flesh, and no Skill or Care could get it out. Land Armies may be recruited, and raw Troops are disciplined in two or three years Service, but to perform a great Naval Strength, as it is infinitely more expensive, so it is the Work of much longer time; and if it be once so broken as that was, 'tis hardly to be repaired.

We may properly enough date the Rise of the *Spanish* Power from the Year 1503, at which time *Gonzales*, called the Great Captain, entirely reduced the Kingdom of *Naples*: from that Year they went on increasing for fourscore and five Years: And perhaps we may as properly fix the Year 1588 for the *Era* of their Declension.

'Tis true, the Valour and wonderful Conduct of *Alexander Farnese* Prince of *Parma* did for a while uphold the Reputation of that Kingdom, but he seems the last great Man they had. Ever since his Death their Affairs have gone backwards: But we may safely lay down, that from the Year 1588, they had

had lost all Hopes of attaining to Universal Monarchy.

However, they were Masters of so rich Dominions, and had such a remaining Foundation of Strength, that tho' perhaps they could not be in a condition to enlarge their Territories, yet still they might have been a very potent People; at least they might have held their own, and in Conjunction with the Empire, would have always been an Overmatch for any Prince or Power in *Europe*, had they not continued to pursue those Measures, which all along had been so prejudicial to them.

The Inquisition, from its first Establishment, had driven from this Country the most useful and most industrious of its Inhabitants; from that time Trade and Tillage began to decline in *Spain*; this brought a Distemper upon their body Politick, which, tho' by slow Degrees, was sure to kill at last. But so strong a Constitution as theirs was (supported too with the Cordials their Galleons brought every Year from *India*) might have lasted a long while, had not *Philip* the III^d made so large an Evacuation at once, as in a manner drew away all its vital Spirits.

In 1610, by a strict Edict, severely executed, he banished from his Dominions all the Descendants of those *Jews* and *Moors*, who after the Reduction of *Granada* had chiefly planted themselves in *Valentia*, and *Castile*, and *Andalusia*, but were spread thro' the whole Kingdom,

Kingdom. Most of them had been baptized, and were called New Christians: 'Tis true, they were suspected to lean still towards their old Superstition, but Time and gentle Usage might have brought them into the Bosom of that Church. But whatever they were, or would have been, Men of all Religions have thought the Council of no Nation did ever make so wrong a Step: The common opinion is, there were then driven away twelve hundred thousand persons. Upon their Expulsion, all the Lands of the Nobility and Gentry forthwith fell in Value; for it was their Custom to pay for what they held a full third more than the natural *Spaniards* could afford to give. And thus it came to pass, that this Region, in former Ages so well inhabited, is now become a Defart. *Livy* tells us, * *Hispania non quam Italia modo, sed quam ulla Pars Terrarum Bello reparando aptior erat.* This Country, that heretofore bred so many Soldiers, can now hardly send out an Army of its own Natives. So that, as *Philip* II, by taking bad Measures, made it impossible for the *Spaniards* to extend their Limits, so *Philip* III, by having thus dispeopled his Country, has made it so difficult for them to preserve their own Dominions, that we see them in this unhappy Juncture of Affairs compelled to throw themselves into the Arms of *France*.

Tit. Liv. l. xxviii.

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We cannot say the *Spaniards* from the time they began to make a Figure in the World have had above two warlike Princes upon the Throne, viz. *Ferdinand* and *Charles V*; whereas Kingdoms that go about to form any great Empire, must have had a long Succession of Men of Council and Action, since one loose Reign, if it last any Number of Years, is sufficient to overthrow the Policy and Discipline of two or three Ages; for Men, with great Labour, and slowly, climb up hill to Renown and Virtue, but they tumble down apace towards Effeminacy and Vice: Such an uninterrupted Series of wise and active Kings will in a short Tract of Time erect a very large Dominion, as we see the *Turks* did in less than three Centuries, among whom there was not the Interposition of one weak Reign, from *Ottoman* their first Founder to *Selymus* the Son of *Solyman*. And a People must needs become strong and formidable, whose Courage always leads them to make new Conquests, and whose Wisdom so provides that they never lose any footing they have once gained; 'tis true, under *Bajazet* their Affairs were brought to the Brink of Ruin, however he himself was neither defective in Valour nor in Conduct, and all that can be said is, that he was overborn by a Torrent of superiour Power. But all their other Kings and Emperors made some Addition to the main Body of their Empire. Unless we may except the *Romans*, no People
ever

ever reached to such a Power from so little a Beginning, but the *Ottoman* Princes have proceeded by much quicker Steps than the *Romans* did, overrunning a great Part of the World in a rapid Course. This vast Dominion took its Rise from *Ertogrul*, a Prince of the *Orguzian* Tribe, who with no more than 400 Men, fixed themselves in a Village called *Saguta*, near the Mountain *Tmolus* in the greater *Phrygia*. *Ottoman* the Son of *Ertogrul* began the Kingdom about the Year 1299. He joined to his small Principality almost all *Bithynia*, and the greatest Part of *Pontus*. *Orchan* his Son took *Prusa*, where he resided, and got footing into *Europe* by taking *Gallipolis* and a few other places. *Amurath* subdued the *Thracia Chersonese*, he took the City of *Adrianople*, and vanquished the Countries of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*. *Bajazet* added to his Dominions most part of *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Achaia*, but himself was overcome by *Tamerlane*. *Mahomet* conquered *Dacia*, part of *Sclavonia* and what remained of *Macedon*. *Amurath* II. took from the *Greek* Emperor what he held in *Achaia*, and all *Thessaly* and *Epire*. *Mahomet* II. who of the *Ottoman* Family first took upon him the Imperial Style, subdued whatever remained to the *Greek* Emperors, and vanquished what was called the Empire of *Trapezond*. *Bajazet* II. reduced *Caramania* and Part of *Armenia*, and took from the *Venetians* the *Morea* and their Part of *Dalmatia* :

Selimus overthrew the Government of the *Malukes* in *Egypt*, which with *Palestine*, *Syria* and *Arabia*, he added to his Dominions. *Solyman* seized *Rhodes*, a great Part of *Hungary*, and reduced to his Dominion *Babylon*, *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*. Other of their Princes have since made some little Conquests, but the *Ottoman* Greatness was at its Height in the Reign of *Solyman*.

Thus we have seen a very large Dominion settled in a short Period of Time; *Ottoman* began to reign about 1299. *Solyman* died in 1566. So that in two hundred and sixty seven Years the *Turks* in a manner had mastered what was called the Eastern Empire.

Their six Kings and four first Emperors were all of them Men of Action and Council, and indeed we meet in no Story with so long a Succession of great and able Rulers. From *Solyman* downwards they have had no martial Prince upon the Throne, but *Amurath IV*. If the *Ottoman* Family had not degenerated; if they had not suffered their ancient Discipline to be corrupted and lost; and if they had kept up to the Rules and Principles upon which their Government was first founded; in all likelihood they must have had sovereign Sway over the whole Earth, or at least their Territories would have had no other Bounds than what they themselves had been pleased to fix.

But both the *Ottoman* and *Spanish* Monarchies rose too fast to continue long, for the
Parts

Parts that composed those two great Bodies had not Time to cement strongly together; besides, the *Turks* as well as the *Spaniards*, never minded to what degree they dispeopled such Dominions as they conquered.

The Attempts which the *Turks* and *Spaniards* made to erect such unbounded Empires, did involve a large Part of the World in Wars and Mischiefs while their Power lasted; but they being both declined, let us see whether they have left the Field open, for any other Nation to set afoot the same Design.

Many Provinces must be joined and assimilated to compose one super-eminent Dominion. This mighty Fabrick stands for a while, till ill Conduct, Vice and Effeminacy have undermined its Foundation; then it falls, and out of its Ruins another Building arises, which in Time may grow to equal what went before, in Strength, Extent, Symetry and Height.

For that Virtue which at first forms Empire, is never quite extinct, but rather traverses from one Region to another. By Virtue I do not mean that which is commonly opposed to Vice, but by Virtue I here understand Piety to our Country, Zeal for its Interest or Glory, Patience under adverse Fortune, Temper in Prosperity, Obedience to Discipline and the Laws, Foresight in Business, Secrecy and Firmness in Councils, Vigour in Action, Courage, Military Skill, Thirst of Honour, Magnanimity: And these are the Virtues upon which Dominion is founded.

These

These Virtues have at times shined in all great Nations, and wherever they prevail most, that Country will be so superiour as perhaps to overbear the whole, if it has a long Succession of wise or warlike Princes, if it be sufficiently stocked with People, if it has its Proportion of Riches, and if its Situation lies conveniently for Universal Monarchy.

The *Ottoman* Force has visibly impaired for more than a Century. *Spain*, as I have shown, has declined for above a hundred Years. *Germany* is cantoned into so many Principalities, which are so jealous of their own Liberties, and so divided in their own Interests, that they can never attempt any considerable Matter, being rather an Empire for Preservation than Increase; so that the *French* seem at present to be a People that have the fairest Prospect of erecting such a large Empire as has been here described.

The Condition of this Kingdom was very low till *Charles VII.* had conquered *Normandy*, and quite expelled the *English*. First we had large Possessions there: The Duke of *Brittany* was very powerful, and the Duke of *Burgundy* was of himself more than a Match for *France*.

But after the Battle of *Fourmignie*, which was in the Year 1450, where we were totally defeated, their Affairs began to have a better Complexion, and from that Time they have been a rising Nation.

To

To model *France* into such a Government as should be capable to oppress its Neighbours, and of embracing high Designs abroad, there wanted such a Prince as his Son *Lewis XI.* proved, who did that by Policy which other Kings are wont to do by Force; for they who will over-run other Countries, must first overthrow their own Laws; for a powerful Nobility and a free People are not easily brought to follow the mad Sallies of a Prince's wild Ambition. *Lewis* did weaken and pull down all the great Families of *France*, and made them all dependent upon him,, which gave the first Rise of a Standing Army there; and, to compleat the Work, he so wrought as to get the Power of raising what Money he pleased upon the People.

His Son *Charles VIII.* was indeed a weak Prince, but he did not want Courage; and those ill concerted Expeditions he made into *Italy*, did at least tend to render his People warlike; and as his Father had by his Arts broke the Force of the Duke of *Burgundy*, so he was the Means that *Britanny* came to be united to the *French* Crown.

Charles was succeeded by *Lewis XII.* a Prince of most excellent Virtues, and who began to form the Troops of *France* into that Discipline in which they have since so much excelled.

His Successor, *Francis I.* was a compleat Hero, and in his Days the Kingdom was arriv-

ed to that Pitch of Greatness, that if he had not lost the Battle of *Pavia*, according to the best Judgment of that Age, he had set *France* much higher than *Spain* was during the Reign of *Charles V.* but indeed during the two Minorities that followed, of *Francis II.* and of *Charles IX.* its Affairs began again to decline, and the Riots and Profusion of *Henry III.* were capable to sink any Kingdom. However, during these three Reigns, tho' Civil Wars raged all the while, yet the Power of *France* went on encreasing all along, because the People for the whole time were in Action, and inured to War.

After these succeeded a martial Prince, *Henry IV.*; and considering what an Army he commanded, what a Treasure he was then Master of, and how capable he was to form and to execute any great Enterprize, had he not been cut off by untimely Death, 'tis not easy to conceive how far he might have extended the Arms and Honour of his Country. In the two next Reigns that followed, *viz.* of *Lewis XIII.* and of the present *French King*, there were two Minorities, which commonly tend to weaken and distract a Nation; but *France* was all the while under a strong Government, because, tho' Factions did now and then prevail a little, in the main the Reins were held by the unerring and severe Hands of *Richelieu* and *Mazarin*; and they must be Kings highly qualified indeed, and such as are
not

not seen every Age, who know how to rule a People so well as these Cardinals did during their Administration.

As to the present Reign, 'tis to be wished *England* had less Reason to commend its Conduct and Wisdom. 'Tis true, no Government can be truly called wise, that has any other View than the Liberty and Happiness of the People; but according to the depraved Appetite and Policies of Mankind, who think Power and Empire to be what Princes should chiefly aim at, towards compassing these Ends the present *French* King seems to have taken all the proper Steps thereunto conducing.

He has strongly fortified all the Frontiers of his Kingdom, he has formed a powerful Navy, of which *France* was never thought capable; he has rendered his whole People warlike, in-somuch that he is able to raise three hundred thousand fighting Men; he has brought Military Discipline to its full Perfection, he has put his Revenue into so good a Method, that he could maintain the Expence of such Fleets and Armies, as were brought against the Confederates while the late War lasted.

Reckoning from *Charles* the VIIth's last Battle, which restored *France*, and was gained *anno* 1450, to this present Day, they have been two hundred and fifty Years building up their Monarchy, not by hasty Victories, but by adding from time to time something to their Dominions, and by such slow Degrees, as per-

mitted their new Acquisitions to be consolidated, and to become of a Piece with their ancient Territory.

During this time there has been the Interposition but of two weak Reigns, nor during this time have they felt any great Blow, such as the *Turks* received from *Tamerlane*, nor have they had any such Loss as the *Spaniards* suffered by the total Destruction of their Fleet, and by the Disappointment of their Expedition in 1588. 'Tis true, the Battle of *Pavia* was a Wound, but not a mortal one, nor was their Force then entirely broken.

Their Dominion does not consist of remote Provinces, such as are a Burthen to the head Kingdom, and which helped to weaken *Spain*; nor is it composed of desert and dispeopled Countries, as is the *Turkish* Empire.

Their own Kingdom has been all along well stocked with Inhabitants, and not dispeopled by Wars and Invasions, as *Spain* and all the *Ottoman* Territories had been for many Ages. 'Tis true, by their inhuman Persecution of the Protestants they have driven away a vast Number of their most useful Hands, which seems a false Step in Politicks, unless by this cruel Zeal they had a desire to recommend themselves to the bigotted *Spaniards*; nor is this Conjecture improbable, because they have had the Succession of that Crown so long in View, and considering that in their Councils and Measures they have ever looked a great way forward.

Some

Some perhaps will object that they are now drained of Men by the late Famine and Sickness, and by a long War, that the Crown is very much indebted, and that one Face of Poverty has spread it self over the whole Nation, all which peradventure is true. But their Climate is so good and healthy that they will soon be recruited with People. And as to their present Debts and Poverty, they seem to be in the Case of a private Man, who has embroiled his whole Estate to bring about some Undertaking, in which if he succeeds his Fortune is made for ever, so continual Action and high Designs, carried on for near forty Years, has no doubt very much impoverished the Body of their Kingdom; but if they prosper, if they obtain that large Empire, perhaps over the whole, to which they have so long aspired, or if they can only annex the *Spanish* Dominions to their Crown, they will be richly paid for all their past Expences.

'Tis a melancholy Consideration that we can no longer say the House of *Austria*, the two Branches of which preserved the Ballance of Power, and weighed in the Scale against *France*: We must now say the House of *Bourbon*. With what Mischiefs does not the Conjunction of such mighty Kingdoms threaten the World? If the *French* have it not in their Will, is it not in their Power to oppress the whole, especially if both Scepters fall into one Hand? In short, by the Extent of their Territories, the

Multitude of their Inhabitants, by the Number and Union of their Forces, by their Discipline, Courage, military Skill, and lastly by their Ambition, guided by all the Rules of Wisdom, and upon many more Accounts, they seem the People most likely to invade the Liberties of *Europe*.

If by the Duke of *Burgundy's* dying without Issue Male, the two Crowns should come to be worn by one Prince, he would have (tho' not for Extent of Territory) yet for Wealth, Trade, Number of Inhabitants, and for Power, a larger Empire than the *Turks* possessed, or than that which *Charlemagne* erected, to whose whole Dominions the *French* Authors affirm their Kings have an undoubted Right.

Such a Monarchy would be so strong, that all the rest of Christendom would be utterly unable to resist it. This sad Prospect has occasioned these Papers. And 'tis to be hoped, all good *Englishmen* will bend their principal Thoughts, and exert their utmost Strength, both now and in future Times, to prevent the Growth of such a Power, which may be interrupted in its first Settlement; but if it be suffered to fix, 'twill soon be an Over-match either for any single, or indeed for any confederate Opposition.

But if it may be necessary to examine whether or no there be any real Hurt in Universal Monarchy: Some Persons have thought not,
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and that such a Posture of the World would conduce to the general Peace and Welfare of Human Kind. If so, there is no need by any Arguments to excite virtuous Men and good Patriots to oppose it by their Deeds and in their Councils.

The *Spaniards*, while they had it in View, published Books to shew what Good it might produce to Human Kind; and the *French*, who abound in good Wits and able Writers, will perhaps do the same, hoping to deceive those by false Reasonings, who shall be left unsubdued by Force of Arms. *Pedro Mexia*, a *Spaniard*, in his Book entitled *Los Cesares*, speaking of the happy Days the *Roman* People saw under the Reigns of the three Emperors who went before *Antoninus Pius*, as likewise under the Government of some of those who succeeded, has Expressions to this Purpose: " That in their Times the whole
" Earth enjoyed Peace and Rest: That,
" notwithstanding their infinite Power and
" numerous Forces, Justice prevailed every
" where, and their Subjects were in full Possession of Liberty, Security, and Property:
" That to their Courts resorted all the noble,
" valiant, and learned Men in the Universe:
" That it was matter of great Wonder to see
" what Union and Friendship there was between different Nations, insomuch that a
" Man might have travelled through the
" World, or the best Parts of it safely, and
" without

“ without any Fear, all Nations looking upon
 “ themselves as Neighbours, and as it were
 “ Fellow Citizens: There was then no occa-
 “ sion of Passports and Letters of Safe-Con-
 “ duct, nor to procure another Sort of Coin
 “ for every Region to which your Business
 “ led you: That then every Country had not
 “ different Laws, Travellers were not appre-
 “ hensive of falling into the Hands of Ene-
 “ mies, or to be made Captives: Nor could
 “ a Malefactor commit a Crime in one Place,
 “ in Confidence of finding Refuge and Pro-
 “ tection in another. He that was born in the
 “ *Orcades*, or furthest Part of *Europe*, was
 “ at home, tho’ he was in *Asia* or *Africk*,
 “ and as good a Denison as tho’ he had been
 “ there born: That Merchants in that Age
 “ did not stand in fear of Forfeitures and Pe-
 “ nalties at every Port and Place, but might
 “ freely pass with their Merchandize with-
 “ out particular Licences: And lastly, that
 “ the State of Mankind in those Times was
 “ every way full of Felicity under the *Roman*
 “ Government.

No doubt this Author (who wrote in the
 Time of the Emperor *Charles V*, whose Hi-
 storiographer he was) had a mind to insinuate
 to the World a good Opinion of that Univer-
 sal Monarchy, at which his Master was then
 aiming.

If *Mexia* were single in this Thought, or if
 the Fears were very remote, that such a su-

per-eminent Power might once more get footing in the World, it would not be worth the while to refute his Notions: But since he has many Followers and Admirers, and since there are near and cogent Reasons to apprehend that a great Part of the Globe may again fall under the sole Dominion of one Prince, it may not be amiss to say a few Words upon this Subject.

Which way soever we consider great Empires (whether in their Infancy, in their blooming Youth, in their Manhood and full Strength, or in their declining Age, we shall find Mankind in all these several Periods of Time afflicted with Wars, Famine, Bloodshed, Thralldom, and Devastations.

They are brought forth with Pangs, and the first Exertions of their Vigour are destructive to their Neighbours. Their Strugglings for Elbow-room are ever bloody, because Opinion of Equality in Forces makes the first Contentions obstinate. But their Infancy, while they fight under their Mother's Wing, *Dum circum ipsam Matrem cum Finitimis luctantur*, is of all their Age the most innocent.

As they spread themselves further, 'tis still with Destruction of others. 'Tis true, their Youth is full of Courage, Heroick Ardour, Magnanimity, and of all that we call virtuous, while they are in the early Chace of Glory; but what is this Renown they hunt after? Is not the Foundation of it laid in Battles, Sieges, Sacking,

Sacking, and those other Effects of War, that involve Human-kind in various Sorts of Misery ?

But when they are come to Manhood, or full Strength, Ruin grows more extensive: They are no longer warmed with the virtuous Desire of Fame, but inflamed with that wild Lust, Ambition: They range about for Prey wantonly, and not out of Hunger: They vex not here and there a City, but lay whole Regions waste: They kill of others, or lose themselves, twenty, forty, or a hundred thousand Men in one Battle: And when they are quite debauched with Power, then follow Breach of Faith, Stratagems, Circumventions, Inobservance of Treaties, Oppression of their Vassals, Frauds, Perjury, Rapes, Murders, Burnings, and all the other Monsters with which the Earth is pregnant, after she has engendered with the God of War.

However, when they have subdued the whole, Peace and Rest to Mankind should be expected; but before their robust Maturity is quite over, they fall at Variance among themselves about the Sway of that World which they have conquered; as did *Sylla* and *Marius*, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, and afterwards *Octavius* with *Brutus*, and *Sextus* the Son of *Pompey*, and then with *Antony*; whose Quarrels engaged the whole Earth, and harassed, wasted, and afflicted *Italy*, the Allies, and the Provinces, more than all the Wars that had gone before.

But

But when these great Empires arrive to their old and declining Age, the Diseases contracted for want of Action affect and interrupt the Peace and Felicity of Mankind, as much as the furious Excursions of their Youth and Manhood. For be it either in a Commonwealth, or in a single Person, Power never gets to a very eminent Height, but it runs into all sort of Corruptions, and there is rarely any sound Health in the Body Politick, but while 'tis kept in Motion: 'Tis true, good Princes, such as was *Augustus*, when they have made all things quiet, tho' it was by Force and Bloodshed, render the Condition of Mankind happy as long as their Reigns last; but how miserable was the State of the whole Earth under the bad Emperors of *Rome*, who in Number did much exceed the good ones?

Augustus did indeed shut the Temple of *Janus*, and when the Government of the whole was fixed in a single Person, the World was for a while at Peace, but how long did that last? did not contending Titles soon after cover *Italy* and the Provinces with civil Arms? but could any War be so destructive as the Cruelty, Profusion, Lust, Riots, and Rage, of the Princes that soon followed?

'Tis true, there was a seeming Peace for a while, and the Vulgar and unknown Heads were safe, but was there not at the same Time an open War proclaimed against Virtue, and all Virtuous Men? Were they not every

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where proscribed, murdered, confiscated, banished or imprisoned?

While this sovereign Dominion subsisted, for how long can we say the Condition of Mankind was happy? This Empire, or at least the Remains of it, lasted twelve hundred twenty eight Years, of which the first seven hundred and eleven were a continued State of War; then it fell into a single Person: And of the Princes in whom their Virtues were more predominant than their Vices, the Number was but very small, they were *Augustus, Galba, Vespasian, Titus, Coccius, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Philosophus, Pertinax, Severus, Alexander Severus, Constantine* and *Theodosius* the Great; who all of them in the whole reigned but about two hundred and eighteen Years, which were the only good Times Human Kind could be thought to enjoy in the Revolution of so many Ages.

These great Empires are not only oppressive to the Race of Men while they are fixing, and when they are fixed, but their very Dissolution is attended with infinite Mischiefs.

When they are come to their decrepid Age, they do not like natural Bodies, whom time has weakened and wasted, fall gently, and by insensible Degrees. These mighty Fabricks, the Parts of which were strongly cemented at first, indure many Shocks, Storms, Disasters, and Attempts, before they are intirely overthrown. It

It was fourscore Years before *Alerich* with his *Goths*, *Attila* with his *Hunns*, *Genferich* with his *Vandals*, and *Odoacer* with his *Scythians*, could subvert the *Roman* People, during which time they suffered more Miseries than they themselves had felt, or than they had made others feel in the whole Course of their Dominion.

The Slaughters, the Devastations of the Provinces, Sackings of Cities, and Depopulations in *Italy*, which Mankind then saw, are hardly to be numbered; so that while these fierce Invaders were heaving at, and subverting a Fabrick that had stood so long, and whose Foundations were so deeply laid, the whole Earth was to be in a convulsive Motion, and to suffer in its Downfal.

But *Mexia* tells us, that while the World was thus under the Rule of a single Person, Trade flourished: And so perhaps it did, but then 'twas only in that Country which was the principal Seat of Empire.

For, as we see in particular Kingdoms, where there is one great City, it draws to it all the Trade; so in a large Dominion, composed of several Provinces, be it a Commonwealth, or a Principality, whatever Country is the Head of Affairs, there will all the Traffick center. Thus the *Athenians*, when by the Advice of *Themistocles*, they were become strong at Sea, and when in about fifty Years (reckoning from the Departure of *Xerxes* to

the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian War*) they were grown to have the chief Command over all *Greece*, they engrossed all the Commerce that was then stirring, and the other Cities and Islands were but Dealers under them. Their Navy indeed was the occasion of their Greatness, but whatever Nation has the chief Dominion at Land, will in Time have the Dominion of the Seas, and they who are strongest at Sea, will have all the Trade. Besides, Merchants will always resort to Countries where they see a big *Emporium*, a luxurious People, and a pompous Court.

While the *Roman* Empire lasted did not the whole Wealth of the Universe center in *Italy* and *Rome*? were not the subject Nations all peeled and plundered to enrich and adorn one City? What could remain after the Rapines committed by the Prætors and Proconsuls that were sent to govern the Provinces? Was there any more left than what would barely give the Inhabitants a poor Livelihood and serve to pay their Tributes? Where Trades were beneficial did they not farm them out, as that of the *Indies* to the People of *Alexandria*? Other Instances might be given of the like Nature, and when they came to have bad Princes, was not all the World oppressed with Taxes to support their Riots and Profusion?

Besides, all these great Monarchies degenerate into Tyranny, with which Trade is incompatible.

But

But *Mexia* tells us, *That to the Courts of the Roman Emperors resorted all the noble, valiant and learned Men in the Universe.* They had Reason indeed to love Men of Valour, for without such strong Hands to hold them up, they stood upon a very dangerous Height, and yet the best of them have been afraid of eminent Virtues, and have thought superior Merit a high Crime. 'Tis true good Princes now and then forgive gallant Generals, that have done them many signal Services, they let them live on, retired and neglected, but the bad ones are not at rest till they have cut off all brave and noble Spirits: Which occasioned *Corbulo's* Friends to wonder why he would seek matter for his Glory, and stir up new Wars in the Reign of *Claudius*. *Cur Hostem conciret? adversa in Rempublicam casura: Sin prosperè egisset, formidolosum paci, virum insignem, & ignavo Principi pragra- vem.* And even the martial Kings and Emperors that have made most bustle in the World, have showered down more Favours upon their Cabinet-Flatterers than upon their Men of Action.

But he would insinuate, that these Universal Monarchs promoted Learning; whereas nothing could be so opposite to their Designs. The Eloquence that can shew the People how they are injured, and persuade them to seek Redress, the piercing Judgment which can look into the Faults in Government, and expose

pose corrupt Ministers, good Sense, and the Virtue which good Sense produces, Books, Science, and Wisdom, are so many Obstacles to the Settlement of unbounded Power; and therefore Princes who have aimed at it (except now and then some one excellent Man, such as was *Augustus*) have been far from encouraging Letters and Knowledge: On the contrary, they have endeavoured, as much as in them lay, to extinguish all the Lights of Nature.

They who would put the World under this Form of Government, and think thereby to render its Condition more safe and easy, must suppose that none but good Princes shall be upon the Throne, which did not happen to the *Romans*, when they had the choosing of their Masters. They were often mistaken in their Choice, some had good Inclinations, but were corrupted by those about them: In others the seeds of Vice and Cruelty lay undiscovered, as in *Tiberius*: Others Nature had formed well enough, but so much Power turned their Heads, and made them worse: *Solusque Vespasianus omnium ante se Principum, in melius mutatus est.* Nor was it better in those great Empires that went by Succession, for all the royal Races that we read of, degenerated in a few Years, except that of *Ottoman*, which kept up to its first Vigour for ten Generations.

But *Mexia* would infer, that under the *Romans* Mankind enjoyed Rest, because there

were not such frequent Wars between Nation and Nation as now adays. 'Tis true, they were restrained by one over-ruling Power, at whose Pleasure only they were to make War or Peace. But the Maintenance of such a riotous and expensive Court, the Payment of so large Armies, Fleets and numerous Garrisons, the Oppression by Governours and Lieutenants of the remote Provinces, and the heavy Taxes imposed upon such as lay nearer hand, were a greater Weight upon the World, than now and then a War could, and at this time, any Country that will patiently endure all this, may be at rest from War.

As the Earth is now divided into several Kingdoms, Principalities and States, between them Wars will happen, but the weaker fortify themselves by Alliances with the stronger; so that (unless some great Oppressor rises up to disturb the World with his Ambition) we have many more Years of Peace than of War; whereas in Universal Empires every day had its different Calamities: While they were rising they harassed their Subjects with perpetual Action; when they were grown powerful they ruled them with hard Reins, and when they declined, and became weak, they were unable to protect them.

What this *Spaniard* advances is in part true, *That in those Days a Malefactor could not commit a Crime in one Country in Confidence of finding Protection in another.* But at the same

same time was not afflicted Virtue without any Place of Refuge? Whither could he retreat who was hated by the Ministers, or misrepresented to the Prince? Where could he be safe who was obnoxious for his Wealth, for his too much Fame, for his high Birth, for his Sanctity of Manners, for his Wit, Wisdom, or for his Valour? Would *Germanicus* have endured the Jealousies of his Unkle *Tiberius*, the Insolence of *Piso* and *Plancina*, and would he have staid to fall by Poison at *Antioch*, if in any Part of the Earth he could have lived as became the Grandson of *Augustus*? When any noble *Roman* was unfortunate, envied or suspected, we do not find he endeavoured to save himself by Flight, he chose rather to die by his own Hands, because he knew there was no Region to which he could retire with Safety. Whereas, as the World is now divided into several Dominions, he whom Tyrants or the Instruments of Tyranny persecute in one Place, may meet with Shelter in another, but there is no getting from the Reach of Universal Monarchy.

By what has been here said, perhaps 'twill appear that this Sort of Government, if set in a true Light, has not such a fair and inviting Aspect, as *Mexia* endeavours to give it. But the Bondage it lays upon our Bodies, is easy, in Comparison to what it would impose upon our Minds.

For

For all who own the same Dominion (if Force can do it) will be brought to own the same Religion; 'tis an Exercise of Power which most Princes think themselves bound in Duty to perform: They believe their Thrones not safe without it. Even the good Emperors our *Spaniard* speaks of, endeavoured to make all Men of one Opinion in religious Matters. *Trajan* raised a Persecution against the Christian Church. *Hadrian* forbade the *Jews* Circumcision, upon which there arose a War. There was a Persecution of the Christians in the Reign of *Antoninus Philosophus*, but 'twas rather attributed to *Lucius* his Son-in-Law, whom he had made *Cæsar*, than to him. Afterwards when the Emperors were converted, in their turns, as they were Orthodox or *Arrian*, they strove to unite all their Subjects under one and the same Belief.

He who aspires to Universal Empire, or who is in Possession of it, will always stand in fear of different Religions; he will look upon such Separations, as so many Endeavours to divide his Power; he will think the separated Members or heretical Part, to be a Faction formed against him, and that whosoever can put himself at the Head of it, may be in a Condition even to dispute with him for the Dominion of the whole; he will dread the desperate Courage and indefatigable Industry of a religious Army; and for these Reasons, the mighty Monarchs of the World, for many

Ages, have pursued with the Sword, Fire, and Halts, such whom either Error has withdrawn, or whom the true Dictates of Conscience have divided from the publick Religion of their Country.

But here it may be objected, this persecuting Spirit has prevailed in little States and Dominions as well as in the greater; 'tis true, however then the afflicted (according to Christ's own Direction) may fly from one Country to another, they may withdraw while the Storm rages, and they may go where they cannot be reached by the Church's unforgiving Hand: But of this Benefit Mankind will be deprived in Universal Monarchy.

This the *Roman* Catholick Clergy have for some Years foreseen; and from the Time they found themselves attacked, they have endeavoured to restore temporal Power to its former Height, that their spiritual Power might be the more exalted.

If things could be so ordered, that no Nation could resist the temporal Arm, the spiritual Arm might extend it self every where without Opposition.

Therefore of late they have used their utmost Endeavours, that some one Country might have sovereign Sway over all the rest: While *Spain* had the best Prospect of it, they promoted the *Spanish* Interest in all the Courts of *Europe*, whose Designs they helped on every where, by being their Spies, Advocates, and
Intelligencers,

Intelligencers. 'Tis notorious that the Priests, especially the Jesuits, (who meddle most in worldly Business, and pretend to the deepest Reach in Policy) were every where of the *Spanish* Faction: But for some Years they have forsaken the House of *Austria*; and now, that the present *French* King, by his Conduct and Wisdom, has set that Kingdom up so high, they desire to advance him to a more eminent Height: They plead his Cause, they cabal for him; whatever they can do by working upon the Superstition of Princes, or of the People, is in order to his Greatness: In short, the Catholick Clergy are universally on the Side and in the Interests of *France*. All which is so obvious to every private Man's Observation, that it needs not be enforced by any further Arguments.

That they are Friends to Universal Monarchy, and that they think it their Interest to promote it, is apparent enough; but should they gain their Point, peradventure it would have other Effects than they imagine: 'T would perhaps end in the weakening of their whole Hierarchy, if not, in all likelihood, it would lessen the Papal Authority, which must become subservient to the Power of such a sovereign Lord, who, may be, would claim a Right to nominate Popes, as *Charlemagne* did, or at least that their Election should not be valid without his Confirmation, which Privilege all the Emperors uninterruptedly enjoyed in

the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Centuries. But these remote Fears do not operate upon them, they think the See of *Rome* founded upon a firm Rock, they rely upon the early Impression of Reverence towards it, with which they take care to imbibe the Minds of Kings and Emperors; they therefore desire one Man should rule all, in Confidence they shall rule him; and indeed there is hardly any Prince, whom they hope not to govern either by his Virtue, or by his Vices.

If then the unbounded Dominion, to which our Neighbours so visibly aspire, involves Mankind in the Mischiefs we have here reckoned up; if it should put an End to Wars, only to introduce what is worse than War, Thralldom, Poverty and Persecution; if it should be a *Ipsa etiam Pace Sævum*; if it brings on Calamities, which the Valiant will be unable to oppose, and from which the Fearful cannot fly, all Men who love their Country, should do their utmost to intercept the Growth and Progress of such an Empire.

Power is a Plant that from a small Seed, will grow to a prodigious Height; 'twill draw to its own Roots all the Nourishment, and it will so spread it self as to overshadow whatever is round about it; 'tis not difficult to interrupt its Beginnings, but when it has attained to its full Strength, 'tis hardly to be shaken; we should contemplate *Primas dominandi Spes in arduo; ubi sis ingressus adesse Studia*
 & Mi-

& *Ministros*. Before a Prince has fully established his Dominion, common Interest may unite his Neighbours in a common Danger; but if he be suffered to fix himself strongly, Fear, Interest, and Flattery, will intervene: Nations will croud in, and beg they may be admitted to receive his Yoke; some will want his Protection, some will request his Aid, in order to oppress others; some States will perhaps submit, as being careless who has the Dominion, so they may have the Trade and Riches; and there is no sort of Corruption that will not enter into the Hearts of Commonwealths, Princes, and their People, when once the virtuous Thoughts of defending publick Liberty are extinguished: So that a King who by the Cowardise or Folly of some of his Neighbours, is suffered to become an Overmatch for the Rest, will in no long Course of Time have the whole World Slaves either to his Fortune, or to his Power; and if some Sparks of Virtue and Courage remain in any single Nation so as that it should hold out for a while, and desire to preserve natural Freedom, 'twill be left to stand alone, or rather Mankind will become so depraved as that all the rest will give their helping Hands, and join in its Destruction.

With as much Brevity as so copious a Subject was capable of, I have here described some of the great Empires that have been hitherto erected; I have shewn what Calamities

mities the unbounded Ambition of desiring to engross the whole, has brought upon Human Kind, and I have done it with this Intention, that the young Nobility and Gentry of *England*, to whom these Papers are directed, by having a short View before them of past Times, may be the better able to form a Judgment of the future.

F I N I S